## WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEMOCRACY IN JACKSON'S TIME.

We present below the speeches and writings which were prevalent in General Jackson's administration among his Southern supporters. We would particularly call the attention of Pennsylvania Democrats to them. It is confessed, on all hands, that these views are no longer tolcrated in the South, and that those who venture to reiterate them are branded as traitors, and banished from Southern soil. Now, does the Democracy of Pennsylvania stand by the free principles prevalent in Jackson's time, or do they prefer the modern doctrine of the Richmond Enquirer, that Free Society is a failure, and that Slavery-even white Slaveryis of Divine origin? That is the question.

We begin with a speech of the Hon. Charles James Faulkner, the present chairman of the Democratic National Executive Committee. He is now a member from Virginia, and, we are sorry to say, has totally abandoned the noble ground assumed in this speech. But one thing is certain, viz: that since his conversion to Slavery, he has never made a speech that has ever been heard of outside of his Congressional district; and it is equally certain, that if his name goes down to posterity, it will be in connection with this speech. Slavery has been moral death to the bright career of fame which began to open before him. We commend this speech as able and statesmanlike, and no intelligent man can read it without feeling that it is truer now than when it was delivered. It was prophetic, and we now see results of the system which were then but the shadows of coming evil. But the end is not yet. Greater evils impend, unless something is done to arrest

This speech was delivered in the Virginia House of Delegates, January 20, 1832, "On the policy of the State with respect to her Slave

"Sir, there is one point in which I do most sincerely agree with those who are arrayed against me in this discussion. It is, that the proposed inquiry is one of great delicacy and of transcendent importance. I will go further, and say it is, in my judgment, the most momentous subject of public interest which has ever occupied the deliberations of this body. Indeed, sir, (if I may be pardoned the extravagance of the expression,) I will say, notwithstanding the horror with which the inquiry is regarded by some gentlemen, it is the ONLY subject which at this time, and under the present attitude of affairs in Virginia, is worthy of the serious gravity of legislation. When and upon what previous occasion did a question so grand, so all-pervading in its consequences, absorb the consideration of this House? The Revolution which agitated this Commonwealth fifty years ago, great and important as it was, lived in its results but a change of our political relations with the mother country. This measure (should it prove successful, and that it must, sooner or later, no individual in this House can reasonably doubt) must involve in its consequences a moral, physical, and political revolution in this State—a revolution which will be beneficially felt by every great interest in the Commonwealth, and by every slaveholding State upon this Continent. Sir, I care not what may be the feelings of other gentlemen, but I glory that it is given to me to participate in this measure. I shall ever reckon it among the proudest incidents of my life, that I have lution so grand and patriotic in its results. But, sir, at the same time that I do accord with hose gentlemen who have preceded me in this debate, on the opposite side of the question, in the all-absorbing magnitude of the topic under consideration, I cannot think, with them, that on that account it is not a FIT subject of inquiry. Its very importance demands inquiry. Let that inquiry be cautious; let it be deliberate; let it be guarded; above all, let it be conducted with a sacred regard to the rights of private property, so far at least as those rights can, on an occasion of this sort, be legitimately scognised. But, still, let the inquiry go on. THE PROPLE demand it—their safety requires it. Mystery in State affairs I have always conidered impolitic and unwise. It is unsuited to the genius of this Government, which is based upon the right of the people to a free and full examination of whatever concerns their interest and happiness. Sir, they pay you for your counsel-they have a right to it. If there be danger, let us know it, and prepare for the worst. If Slavery can be eradicated, in God's name let us get rid of it. If it cannot, let that melancholy fact be distinctly ascertained; and let those who we have been told are now awaiting with painful solicitude the result of your nination, pack up their household gods, and find among the luxuriant forests and prairies of the West that security and repose which

"Again, sir, I ask, what new fact has occurred —what new light has dawned upon the gentleman from Mecklenburg—that we should be called upon to retrace our course, and to disappoint the hopes which our first manly den gave? Does not the same evil exist? Is it not increasing? Does not every day give a heavy and portentous cloud above the horizon, extending its deep and sable volumes athwart the sky, and gathering in its impeneetrable folds the active materials of elemental war? And, yet, shall we be requested to close our eyes to the danger, and without an effortithout even an inquiry—to yield to the impulses manly legislation? Is it correct—is it nonest—legislation? Is it acting with that fidelity to our constituents which their sacred interest

their native land does not afford.

tionary—if the worthy gentleman from Meck-lenburg [Mr. Gholson] could give us any as-surance that it would not increase until it reaches a point which it is horrible to contemplate—I might be induced to acquiesce in the course which their pathetic appeals suggest. But, when they know it is otherwise—when they know that each successive billow is detracting from the small space of ground left between us and the angry ocean chafing at our feet-how can they advise us—how can they advise their own constituents-to remain still, when the next advancing wave may overwhem them and us in hopeless ruin and desolation? Sir, if the gentleman from Mecklenburg was

not satisfied when he submitted his resolution, e must now be convinced that this is one of those questions which no parliamentary adroitness can smother. The spirit of Free Inquiry is abroad upon the earth; and Governments and all the institutions connected with them perstitious reverence for them, as existing instiutions, but as they are ascertained, after a severe and searching scrutiny, to subserve the great ends of POPULAR weal. The same quesion which is now convulsing Europe to its centre—which is purifying that most gifted country from the despotism which has for so many centuries hung over it—is, in a somewhat modified shape, operating upon the pres-ent inquiry. As with them, it is asked, Why have we so long tolerated the unequal and oppressive institutions of our country? and ease? Of what use are crowns and hereditary aristocracies? Do they answer any great end of society? Do they conduce to the hap-piness of the PEOPLE? So with us the inquiry nust be, Is Slavery a beneficial institution Is the prosperity of a nation promoted by nour-ishing within her bosom half a million of bondsmen, alien to her in interest, hostile to her in feeling, and prepared, at any favorable moment, to deluge the country in blood, and dance upon the ruins of Public Liberty? In other words, Are we better with or slaves? It must come to that point at last. If Slavery can be sustained as an institution conlucive to the great interests of society, it will be tolerated ; if not, it must bow before the majesty of that power which is supreme. But, sir, vain and idle is every effort to strangle this inquiry. As well might you attempt to chain

ings. There is not a county, not a town, not a newspaper, not a fireside, in the State, where the subject is not fully and fearlessly canvassed; and shall we, the constitutional Inquest of the Commonwealth, sworn to make a true inquiry into all the grievances of the people, and to the best of our abilities apply the remedy, shall we alone be found to shrink from this inquiry? And here permit me to revert to a remark which fell (I am sure inadvertently) from the gentleman from Brunswick. Because, forsooth, asking this inquiry, we have chosen to depart from the folly of our ancestors, and to discuss this question—not with closed doors; not in low and breathless whispers; not with all the mummery of an Oriental Divan-we have been told that we are treating the subject 'flippantly'—not as was done in the better days of the Commonwealth. If flippancy, sir, in the vocabulary of that gentleman, signifies a free and open discussion of that which concerns the people, and which they have a right to know, I plead guilty to this charge-most cer-

tainly not otherwise.
"Sir, uniformity in political views, feelings, and interests, in all the parts of this widely-extended State, would, I admit, be extremely desirable. But that uniformity is purchased at too dear a rate, when the bold and intrepid forester the West must yield to the slothful and degraded African, and those hills and valleys which ntil now have re-echoed with the songs and industry of freemen, shall have become converted into desolation and barrenness by the withering footsteps of Slavery.

"Sir, it is to avert any such possible conse-

sence to my country, that I, one of the humblest, but not the least determined, of the West-ern delegation, have raised my voice for emancipation. Sir, tax our lands, vilify our country, carry the sword of extermination through our now defenceless villages; but spare us, I implore you, spare us the curse of Slavery, that bitterest drop from the chalice of the destroying angel!

"Sir, we have lands, we have houses, we have property, and we are willing to pledge them all to any extent, to aid you in removing this evil. Yet, we will not that you shall extend to us the same evils under which you labor. We will not that you shall make our fair domain the receptacle of your mass of political filth and corruption. No, sir; before we can submit to such terms, violent convulsions must agitate this State.

"The gentleman from Brunswick and the gentleman from Dinwiddie hold their slaves, not by any patent from God, as the latter gentleman on yesterday assumed, but solely by virtue of the acquiescence and consent of the so-

ciety in which they live.
"But, sir, it is said that society having conferred this property on the slaveholder, it cannot now take it from him without an adequate ompensation, by which is meant full value. I may be singular in the opinion, but I defy the legal research of the House to point me to a nciple recognised by the law, even in the ordinary course of its adjudications, where the community pays for property which is removed destroyed because it is a nuisance, and found njurious to that society. There is, I humbly apprehend, no such principle. There is no obigation upon society to continue your right one noment after it becomes injurious to the best interests of society; nor to compensate you for the loss of that, the deprivation of which is demanded by the safety of the State, and in which general benefit you participate as members of the fest distinction between condemning private property to be applied to some beneficial public surpose, and condemning or removing private property which is ascertained to be a positive wrong to society. It is a distinction which pervades the whole genius of the law; and is founded upon the idea, that any man who holds property injurious to the peace of that society of vinced that it is an important, a most momentwhich he is a member, thereby violates the concontributed my feeble aid to forward a revo-to the property is alone guarantied. For prop-in a county as well protected as most of the dition upon the observance of which his right of Virginia, in a few hours, in the face of day, to be compensation; but for property of the latter class, none can be demanded upon principle, none accorded as matter of right, although considerations of policy, considerations of humanity, and a spirit of compromise, may dic-

> "Sir, does not that plan of emancipation which proposes freedom at a future period, and which guaranties to the slaveholder the present enjoyment and profit of that most pernicious spe-cies of property, contain within itself a principle of compensation—a fair and just proposi-tion of compromise? I think it does, and I ex-hibit my views thus: It is conceded that, at this precise moment of our legislation, slaves are injurious to the interests and threaten the subversion and ruin of this Commonwealth. Their present number, their increasing number. all admonish us of this. In different terms, and in more measured language, the same fact has this House. 'Something must be done,' emphatically exclaimed the gentleman from Dinwiddie; and I thought I could perceive a response to that declaration, in the countenance of a large majority of this body. And why must something be done? Because if not, says the gentleman from Campbell, [Mr. Rives,] the throats of all the white people of Virginia will be cut. No, says the gentleman from Dinwiddie-'The whites cannot be conquered-the throats of the blacks will be cut.' It is a trifling difference, to be sure, sir, and matters not o the argument. For the fact is conceded,

tate some compensation.

Commonwealth, I ask if we would not be justi-fied now, supposing all considerations of policy and humanity concurred, without even a moment's delay, in staving off this appalling and overwhelming calamity? Sir, if this immense negro population were now in arms, gathering into black and formidable masses of attack, would that man be listened to, who spoke about property, who prayed you not to direct your ar-tillery to such or such a point, for you would destroy some of his property? Sir, to the eye of the statesman, as to the eye of Omniscience, langers pressing, and dangers that must necessarity press, are alike present. With a single glance he embraces Virginia now, with the elements of destruction reposing quietly upon her bosom, and Virginia lighted from one extremity to the other with the torch of servile insurrection and massacre. It is not sufficient for him that the match is not yet applied. It is enough that the magazine is open, and the match will shortly be

"Sir, it is true in national as it is in private contracts, that loss and injury to one party may constitute as fair a consideration as gain to the other. Does the slaveholder, while he is enjoying his slaves, reflect upon the deep injury and incalculable loss which the possession of that property inflicts upon the true interests of the country? And does he not perceive that society, in tolerating that evil, say for thirty years longer, for his benefit, is, in the shape of injury to herself and benefit to him, giving him a full and adequate compensation? It is the only compensation which, so help me God! as a slave holder, I will ever accept from the Common-wealth of Virginia. It is the only compensation which, as a lawgiver, I will ever dispense to

"Sir, it is, in my judgment, the true and proper ground of compromise between the slave-holding and anti-slaveholding interests of this Commonwealth; and by anti-slaveholding interest here, I mean to comprehend every in-terest, except that mere pecuniary interest which the master has in the property of his slave. Slavery, it is admitted, is an evil—it is an institution which presses heavily against the best in terests of the State. It banishes free white labor, it exterminates the mechanic, the artisan the manufacturer. It deprives them of occupation. It deprives them of bread. It converts the energy of a community into indolence, its power into imbecility, its efficiency into weakness. Sir, being thus injurious, have we not a right to demand its extermination? Shall soto gather his crop of human flesh? his mere pecuniary claim, compared with the great interests of the common weal? Must the country languish, droop, die, that the slavehold er may flourish? Shall all interests be subser rient to one-all rights subordinate to those of the slaveholder? Has not the mechanic, have not the middle classes their rights—rights incompatible with the existence of Slavery?

"Sir, so great and overshadowing are the evils of Slavery—so sensibly are they felt by the ocean, or stay the avenging thunderboits of Heaven, as to drive the people from any inquiry which may result in their better condition. This is too deep, too engrossing a subject, of consideration. It addresses itself too strongly to our interests, to our passions, and to our feel-

application of any remedy which, under the great law of State necessity, we might consider

"Sir, I am gratified to perceive that no gentleman has yet risen in this Hall, the avowed advocate of Slavery. The day has gone by when such a voice could be listened to with patience, or even with forbearance. I even regret, sir, that we should find those amongst us who enter the lists of discussion as its apologists, except alone upon the ground of uncontrollable necessity. And yet, who could have listened to the very eloquent remarks of the gentleman from Brunswick, without being forced to conclude that he at least considered Slavery, however not to be defended upon principle, yet as being divested of much of its enormity, as you approach it in practice? Sir, if there be one who concurs with that

atleman in the harmless character of this institution, let me request him to compare the condition of the slaveholding portion of this Commonwealth—barren, desolate, and seared as it were by the avenging hand of Heaven—with the descriptions which we have of this same country from those who first broke its virgin soil. To what is this change ascribable? Alone to the withering and blasting effects of Slavery. If this does not satisfy him, let me request him to extend his travels to the Northern ites of this Union, and beg him to constrast the happiness and contentment which prevail the happiness and contentment which prevail throughout that country, the busy and cheerful sound of industry, the rapid and swelling growth of their population, their means and institutions of education, their skill and proficiency in the useful arts, their enterprise public spirit, the monuments of their com-mercial and manufacturing industry; and, bove all, their devoted attachment to the Government from which they derive their protection, with the division, discontent, indolence, and poverty, of the Southern country. To what, sir, is all this ascribable? To that vice in the rganization of society, by which one half its inhabitants are arrayed in interest and feeling against the other half—to that unfortunate state of society in which freemen regard labor as disgraceful, and slaves shrink from it as a burden tyrannically imposed upon them-to that condition of things in which half a million of your population can feel no sympa-thy with the society in the prosperity of which they are forbidden to participate, and no at-tachment to a Government at whose hands

they receive nothing but injustice.'
"If this should not be sufficient, and the urious and incredulous inquirer should suggest that the contrast which has been adverted o, and which is so manifest, might be traced o a difference of climate, or other causes dis tinct from Slavery itself, permit me to refer him to the two States of Kentucky and Ohio. No difference of soil, no diversity of climate, no diversity in the original settlement of those two States, can account for the remarkable disproportion in their natural advancement Separated by a river alone, they seem to have been purposely and providentially designed to exhibit in their future histories the difference which necessarily results from a country free from, and a country afflicted with, the curse of Slavery. The same may be said of the two States of Missouri and Illinois.

"Sir, if still he should hesitate in the appre hension of this important political truth, that Slavery is a curse, which no local advantages can counterbalance, let me invite him back again to his native State, and point to the tragedy of Southampton. There, sir, undis-guised and clear to the vision of all men, are the evils of Slavery written in blood. There may be seen a practical commentary upon that institution, as it actually exists among us. The gentleman from Dinwiddie has called it a butchered, mangled, in a style of which the records of atrocity can scarcely furnish a parallel. This is a petty affair? Sir, it may suit suppressed that insurrection, to underrate its mportance; but to the statesman, who knows that like causes will produce like effects, it must appear fraught with useful and important instruction. Let it not be said that these insurrections rarely occur, and that a similar one may not take place for half a century to come. To us, no more than to the murdered citizens of Southampton, is it given to know the day and the hour. It is sufficient that such an evil may occur; and that no vigilance of your police can prevent its recurrence.

Sir, the evils of Slavery stand confessed before us. The only question with a Virginia statesman should be, Is there any remedy, and what shall that remedy be? The gentleman from Albemarle has exhibited one scheme, the nother. Other and perhaps less exceptionable projets will be submitted, as soon as it is understood that we are disposed to apply some shall we be allowed to prosecute our investigations in the select committee? Let us manifest the will-the means will assuredly follow. I

never could despair, sir, in a cause so just as this. I never could despair of accomplishing that which eight States—although, it is true, under more favorable circumstances—have already accomplished. I never could despair of doing that which the venerable fathers of our Republic have told us is not only practicable, but have admonished us must be done, if we mean to save the Commonwealth from ruin. With a steady perseverance, failure is impossible. The sympathies and support of the world would gather around us. The smiles of Heaven and our honest feelings would sus-

"In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, permit me again to repeat, that although I am decidedly in favor of some scheme of manumission that will ultimately relieve my country from the catastrophe which threatens it, let no gentleman suppose, from what has fallen from me, that I am in favor of any rash, violent, or hasty legislation. I am for action, but it must be sober, circumspect, well-considered action. I am for no plan which which is not mild, gradual, prospective in its operation. I shall advocate no scheme that does not respect the right of property, so far as it is entitled to be respected, with a just regard to the safety and resources of the State. I would approach the subject as one of great magnitude and delicacy, as one whose varied and momentous consequences demand the calmest and most deliberate investigation. But still, sir, I would approach it—aye, delicate as it may be, encompassed as it may be with difficulties and hazards, I would still approach it. The peo-ple demand it. Their security requires it. In the language of the wise and prophetic Jefferson, 'You must approach it—you must bear it—you must adopt some plan of emancipation, or worse will follow.'"

Governor Randolph, in his address to the irginia Legislature, in 1820, said :

"We have been far outstripped by States to whom Nature has been far less bountiful. It is painful to consider what might have been, under other circumstances, the amount of general wealth in Virginia."

Mr. Curtis, in a speech in the Virginia Leislature in 1832, said :

"There is a malaria in the atmosphere these regions, which the new comer shuns, as being deleterious to his views and habits. See the wide-spreading ruin which the avarice of our ancestral Government has produced in the South, as witnessed in a sparse population of reemen, deserted habitations, and fields withut culture! Strange to tell, even the wolf, driven back long since by the approach of man, now returns, after the lapse of a hundred years, to howl over the desolations of Slavery."

Mr. Moore, in speaking of the evils of Slaery, said :

tendency which it has to undermine and destroy everything like virtue and morality in the com-

"In that part of the State below tide-water he whole face of the country wears an appear ance of almost utter desolation, distressing to the beholder. The very spot on which our an-cestors landed, a little more than two hundred years ago, appears to be on the eve of again becoming the haunt of wild beasts."

Mr. Ritchie, once the editor of the Union, in

to increase in its dimensions? Yes, something must be done, and it is the part of no honest

man to deny it." When, within a period equal to that in which the Federal Constitution has been in ex-istence, those numbers will increase to more than two millions within Virginia; when this, the fairest land on this continent, for soil, and climate, and situation, combined, might become a sort of garden spot, if it were worked by the hands of white men alone—can we, ought we, to sit quietly down, fold our arms, and say to each other, 'Well, well; this thing will not come to the worst in our day.' Something ought to be done; means sure, gradual—systematic, but discreet—ought to be adopted for reducing the mass of evil that is pressing upon the

"The disease is deep-seated. It is at the heart's core. It is consuming our vitals."

Richmond Enquirer of Jan. 7, 1832. We might make a volume of such quotations, from the speeches in the Virginia Legislature of 1831-'2. We might quote Governor McDowell, then a member; Thomas Jefferson Randolph, Mr. Jefferson's grandson, who introduced the subject; Mr. Summers of Kenawha, still a prominent man in Virgina; Gen. Brod-

nax, and a score of others, with nearly every press in the State, certainly all that were at all distinguished for talents and influence. The editorials of John Hampden Pleasants, then the editor of the Richmond Whig, are among the most splendid contributions to newspaper literature which the country has produced.

We next quote from the Nashville Banner, then the domestic organ of General Jackson: From the Nashville Bar ner of the 30th of June, 1831, then edited by the late Samuel H. Laughlin.
"EMANCIPATION.—The agitators and fanat-

ics of the East have been recently engaged in some highly reprehensible measures. All the sober friends of gradual and prospective emancipation, and who see the alarming and horrid consequences of immediate or forcible abolition, have been open in the condemnation of their measures in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Those wretches have set themselves up as the open enemies of the Colonization Society, and speak in open derision of its principles and its measures. In this State, we have nothing to fear from such men; they dare not show their faces. Here, the GREAT MORAL PRINCIPLE is at work, which, IN THE END, will inevitably accomplish THE GREAT WORK in a lawful and constitutional way.

The warmest friends of the cause here only wish to go a little in advance of the present spirit of the age. The only weapons they pre-tend to employ are RELIGION, expediency, reason, and MORAL DUTY. It is in this spirit that Mr. Stephenson's benevolent protest, introduced in the Convention, has been drawn, which in the benignancy of its purposes is un-answerable, and in point of reason and argu-ment—for the haud of a man who has matured his subject is apparent in it—says everything that can be said in favor of what it proposes, at this time. These are merely our opi but the subject generally is one upon which we have read and reflected, more perhaps than upon any other not immediately connected with our daily avocations in life. We have become thoroughly convinced, that nothing but time, and the future operation of MORAL PRINCIPLES, carried out in wise legislation, founded upon the principle of compensation, or some other principle of justice, which may become, hereafter, acceptable to the owners, will ever enable the work to be done. Let restraints, however, upon voluntary emancipa-

The Nashville Republican, also a Jackson paper at the time, spoke as follows, on the 20th

"It is supposed that efforts will be made to insert a provision for the gradual abolition of Slavery, and perhaps the colonization of our colored population. Upon the propriety of this step we shall not at present decide. Much would depend upon the nature of the provision, whether well adapted to our present and future condition. The Legislature of Tennessee has already taken up the cause of Colonization, and made perhaps as liberal a provision for it as our finances permitted. The nature of things, the march of public opinion, the voice of religion, all have said that American Slavery, proved have an end. What shall be the legislative measures to that effect, and when they shall begin, are questions for prudence to

The State Convention declined to do thing at the time towards emancipation, though the evils of Slavery were generally acknowlgentleman from Dinwiddie has presented edged. Mr. Stephenson, a prominent politician of the time, entered a protest against this non-action. Mr. Laughlin, the editor of is, Shall we be PERMITTED to make the inquiry? Jackson, pronounced the protest "wise and benevolent." The following are extracts from this document:

"One of its (the Bible's) excellent rules is, we have just to place each in the other's stead. then ask the question honestly, 'What would I that my servant, thus placed in power, would to to me?' Surely, (if I durst.) I would say, 'When I had paid to you, with usury, a full equivalent for all you have expended in procuring me, and providing for my support and com-fort, you ought to be satisfied; this is all stern justice can require, and humanity and a regard for the rights of man would require no more. Why, then, do you not permit me to go out free to pursue happiness my own way?"

Again, we read in this "benevolent protest," (which, in the benignancy of its purposes, was unanswerable, according to Mr. Laughlin,) as

"The undersigned do not admit that the refusal or neglect of other States to remove an existing evil is a justification for us. It is written, when the Jews desired a king, one of their reasons was, that they might be like the heathen natives around them; but this then was declared by the words of unerring Thought not to be good. In the Bible we have an account of a people once in bondage; and when the great God called for their deliverance, the cry of their oppressors was, (as we believe, in the spirit of the report,) 'They be idle, they be idle.' God hath said, 'Let the oppressed go free;' and he that oppresseth the poor, reproacheth his Maker.

"The report supposes it a dangerous experiment; the command is, nevertheless, Go forward, although the Red Sea, starvation, degradation, with all the train of horrors so eloquently set forth in the report, stare you in the face. Is it better to obey God, or man? As wise Mr. Laughlin remarked, in reference to the

subject :

"Here (in Tennessee) the great moral principle is at work, which, in the end, will inepitably accomplish the great work (of emancipation) in a legal and constitutional way. The warmest friends of the cause here only want to go a little in advance of the present spirit of the age. The only weapons they pretend to employ are religion, expediency, reason, and moral duty."

We might fill a volume with such extracts from the Southern newspapers of Jackson's day; but now the only men of the South who entertain such views are the secret or open friends of Fremont and Dayton. None of them-no, not one-can be found in the ranks of Buchanan.

But we must desist. Our limits forbid fur ther extracts at present. We have given sufficient to illustrate Democracy in Jackson's time. We now present a few specimens of

DEMOGRACY IN PIERCE'S AND BUCHANAN'S TIME.

The following article appeared in the Richmond (Virginia) Enquirer, last winter, and its substance is repeated nearly every day. The Enquirer is the organ of Virginia Democracy, and its behests are rarely disobeyed by the Administration. It seems that the substance is repeated nearly every day. The tions, by introducing metal type. The objection to blocks are, they occupy much room, are liable to be destroyed by white ants, and for large editions (of the Bible, for instance) ninistration. It says:

Are we forever to suffer the greatest evil which can scourge our land, not only to remain, but to increase in its dimensions? Yes, something the authority of the Bible, and of the history, practices, and experience of mankind. Human experience showing the universal success of slave society, and the universal failure of free society, was unavailing to them, because they were precluded from employing it, by admitting were precluded from employing it, by admitting Slavery in the abstract to be wrong. The defence of mere negro Slavery involved them in still greater difficulty. The laws of all the Southern States justified the holding white mea in Slavery, provided that through the mother they were descended, however remotely, from

a negro slave. The bright mulattoes, according to their theory, were wrongfully held in Slavery. "The line of defence, however, is changed now, and the North is completely cornered, and dumb as an oyster. The South now maintains It shows that all divine and almost all human authority justifies it. The South further charges, that the little experiment of free society in Western Europe has been, from the beginning the society of ning, a cruel failure, and that symptoms of failure are abundant in our North. While it is far more obvious that negroes be slaves than whites—for they are only fit to labor, not to direct—yet the principle of Slavery is in itself right, and does not depend on difference of complexion. Difference of race, of lineage, of language, of habits and customs, all tend to render the institution more natural and durable and although slaves have been generally white still the masters and slaves have generally been of different national descent. Moses and Aristotle, the earliest historians, are both authorities in favor of the difference in race, but not of

Ponder well the following extracts from work published in Virginia, entitled "Sociology, or Free Society a Failure," by George Fitzhugh. This book has been highly commended by the Richmond Enquirer and Examiner, and by the "Democratic" press of the South gener-

"Make the laboring man the slave of one man, instead of the slave of society, and he would be far better off." "Two hundred years of Liberty have made white laborers a pauper banditti. Free society has failed, and that which is not free must be substituted." "Say the Abolitionists, 'Man ought not to

have property in man.' What a dreary, cold, bleak, inhospitable world this would be, with such doctrine carried into practice!" Slavery has been too universal not to be necessary to nature, and man struggles in vain against nature.' \* \* \* 'Free society is a failure. We slaveholders say, you must recur to domestic Slavery, the oldest, the best, and most common form of socialism.

"Free society is a monstrous abortion, and Slavery, the healthy, beautiful, and natural being which they are trying unconsciously to adopt." "The slaves are governed far better than the free laborers at the North are governed. Our negroes are not only better off as to physical comfort than free laborers, but their moral "We do not adopt the theory that Ham wa

the ancestor of the negro race. The Jewish slaves were not negroes; and to confine the justification of Slavery to that race, would be to weaken its Scriptural authority, and to lose the whole weight of profane authority—for we read of no negro Slavery in ancient times."

\* \* "Slavery, black or white, is right and

"Nature has made the weak, in mind or body, slaves." \* \* \* "The wise and virtuous, the brave, the strong in mind and body, are born to command. "Men are not born entitled to equal rights.

It would be far nearer the truth to say, that some were born with saddles on their backs, and others booted and spurred to ride them-and the riding does them good.' 'They need the reins, the bit, and the spur.' 'Life and tion of Independence is exuberantly false, and aborescently fallacious."

The following statement of the position which the Northern Democracy is expected to occupy is from the Charleston Mercury. The same idea has been repeated by the Richmond Enquirer and other Southern journals, from which we have heretofore quoted:

"The ensuing Presidential canvass, which will probably determine the fate of the Union, will turn almost solely on the question of State Equality. None can consistently or effectively contend for State Equality, who do not hold that the institutions of the South and the social forms of the South are equally rightful, legitimate, moral, and promotive of human happiness and well-being, with those of the North.

If slave society be inferior in these respects to free society, we of the South are wrong and criminal in proposing to extend it into new territory, and the North right in exerting itself to the utmost to prevent such extension.

Well, are the Democracy of Pennsylvania, remedy. THE ONLY QUESTION now before us the Banner, and a prominent friend of General and of the free North, willing to occupy this ground? Do they think Slavery as good as Freedom, and as deserving of preservation? Do they think it right to make slaves of poor white men? If they do not, they should at 'As you would that men should do unto you, do you even so unto them.' Now, to apply this golden rule to the case of the master and slave, which he stands, and that is the policy by which his Administration (if he should be elected) would be governed. He is the crea-

## LETTER FROM CANTON. CANTON, CHINA, 1856.

To the Editor of the National Era:

The art of printing has been known and used in China for twelve centuries. It may not be uninteresting to your readers to know how this strange people transfer to paper their language, which is as strange and wonderful as themselves.

Every word in the language has but one syl-

lable, and each word is represented by a symbol, or sign, which is composed of a certain number of marks, made in a certain way. These vary from one to twenty, or more, and are written with a hair-pencil, which is held perpendicularly to the paper, between the thumb and first two fingers, and resting on the nail of the third finger. When a piece is to he printed, the characters are written by a good penman, on thin paper, just as they are to appear when printed. A block of wood, half an inch thick, and as large as two pages of the book, is planed smooth, and covered with a glutinous paste; the sheet containing the characters is then placed on it, with the written side next the wood. When it is nearly dry, the paper is rubbed off with the fingers, and an exact impression of the writing is left. The block cutter then with gouge and chisel cuts out the white parts, carefully leaving those covered with ink. A stereotype plate of two pages is thus obtained, and is ready for the printer. Both sides of the block are often cut, giving four pages to each one. The printer, seated at a low table, has before him the blocks a pile of paper cut into sheets the size of the block, ink, brush, and a press; the two latter are made of the fibrous bark of the cocoa tree, and the press merely a smooth roll of these fibres, which is rubbed over the paper, to bring every part into contact with the inked surface of the blocks. With these simple arrangements, a man may print all day, without rising from his seat. A good workman can strike off

4,000 sheets per day.

The paper is printed on but one side, and the sheets, doubled once, with the blank-side in, are trimmed on the ends and open side. The sheets composing a volume are stitched through and through on this open side, with blank sheets for a cover, and then the book is ready for sale. This process of printing and binding is the simplest imaginable, and is such as the Chinere have used for many centuries. The blocks are capable of yielding fifteen or twenty thousand impressions; after which they may be retouched by the block cutter, and five or ten thousand more impressions

The Chinese are perfectly satisfied with their mode of printing; but foreigners have found objections to it, and have attempted innova-

in such a multitude, would seem to render com-position almost impossible. It is found, how-

ever, that from three to four thousand varieties are sufficient for ordinary purposes; and when unusual characters occur, they can easily be cut on lead. The type are arranged, according to the plan of Chinese dictionaries, under 214 radicals; and thus the difficulties of composi tion are lessened, but still remain much greater than in languages founded on an alphabet.

There are beauties in this ancient and won There are beauties in this ancient and wolf-derful language which are attractive to the Chinese, and which possess charms, too, for the foreigner, when he becomes acquainted with their mysteries. To the educated Chinese, each character is a fixed embodiment of an idea or class of ideas. The graceful arrangemen and proportion of the strokes which form a character are much admired-so much so, indeed, that good penmanship is one of the most important requisites for success at the literary examinations. The idea of antiquity connected with these symbols of thought and speech has a powerful hold on the minds of all classes, and nothing tends so much to keep up their reverence for ancient doctrines and customs, as the unchangeable nature of their written lan-guage, which has been handed down to them for hundreds of generations, from the ancestors of their venerated sages, Confucius and Men-The rebellion has recently attracted more at

ention than for some months past. The provnce west of Canton has been the scene of several actions, in which the Imperial forces have been defeated, and many of their leaders slain. The province north of Canton is almost entirely in the possession of the rebels; and it has been reported that they have made a de scent upon Fokien province, and its capital Fuchau. Nankin is still the headquarters of the rebellion, and they retain possession of many important places in the provinces bor-dering on the Yang-tsz-kiang river, on which Nankin is situated. The defeats they suffered a year ago have kept them from making fur ther attempts upon Peking, the imperial residence, and their efforts seem to be directed to the south, to regain possession of that part of the empire over which they at first triumphantly passed, but left without either civil or military government, to secure the advantages they had gained. What is to be the result of this movement, which is costing the empire millions of lives and millions of property, remains for future years to unfold. Two American missionaries have recently

made a trip of nearly two hundred miles int the country west of Canton. They were well treated, both by officers and people, and met with no difficulty, except on two or three occasions, when the officers tried to make them re turn before they were ready. They have since made a second trip in another direction; and it is hoped that this vast country may soon be freely traversed by those who bear the light of truth and civilization.

## For the National Era. JERUSALEM.

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